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Research on Substitute Child Care

Aging and the Social and Behavioral Sciences

Training Program For Unemployed Young Persons

U.S.
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OF HEALTH,
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IN THIS ISSUE

Substitute Child Care: Recent Research And Its Implications
Abraham S. Levine 1

What Social And Behavioral Sciences Say About Aging
George L. Maddox and Marvin J. Taves 8

Unemployed Young People And Federal Training Programs
William W. Dickinson 13

Book Notes

Income Maintenance Research
Helen O. Nicol 25

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Substitute Child Care

Recent Research And Its Implications

Abraham S. Levine

Adoption, foster care, and institutionalization have long been regarded as central problems in child welfare research. In the last 5 years research centered on these subjects has turned up a number of important implications for practice. In this article I will summarize both research findings and their practical implications. The research on which my discussion is based is listed at the end, and the numbers in parentheses following the discussion of particular points flag specific references.

Adoption

Most adopted children were born out-of-wedlock because more out-of-wedlock than in-wedlock children are available for adoption. Normal white children are easily placed, although the ratio of couples applying for children has gone down considerably in the past few years. For Negro children the story is different: most are not adopted. This is true although Negro couples adopt Negro children almost in proportion to the percentage of Negroes in the U.S. population. But the rate is inadequate because the number of Negro children needing adoption is proportionately greater than the number of white children in the same situation. Lack of interest in adoption, more than lack of knowledge about the need, accounts for the poor Negro adoption rate. And lack of interest stems, in no small part, from lack of income (1, 2).

In about three-quarters of adoption cases, adoption is apparently successful. Agency placement has a higher rate of success than independent placement and is becoming the predominant means of placement.

Hard-to-place children (that is, children who have physical or mental handicaps, come from ethnic minority families, or are just "older") have as high success rates in adoption as normal children, although agency workers often place them with couples who do not fit the stereotype of the good adoptive couple (sound marital relationship, flexibility and outgoing personality, wholesome motivation for adoption, and acceptance of infertility). In placing handicapped children workers look for couples who do not have any appreciable bias toward such children and tend to be accepting of a child and his particular handicap. Also, it is quite possible that the stereotype couple only appears to have good adoptive qualities and the nonconforming couple only appears not to have them!

Children in good adoptive homes demonstrate capacity for overcoming the consequences of early deprivation. It appears that neither the child's family nor his background significantly affects adoption outcome (3). Nor do these attributes in the adoptive parents: age, income, education, socioeconomic status, and religion. Even similar physical characteristics in the adoptive parent(s) and child make little difference. And the assessment of motivation for adoption is a questionable predictor of successful adoptive parenthood—which fact brings the value of measuring devices into question (3).

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What makes the difference is the adoptive parents' attitude toward children and child-rearing practices. The child grows and develops when he and other people are engaged in mutually fulfilling actions. Such actions entail the child's self-regulation and his initiative in dealing with others and reciprocal self-regulation and initiative in the people with whom he lives, studies, and plays. Disadvantaged children fail to grow and develop properly when such reciprocity is not the case (4).

Nevertheless, the adopted child has greater psychiatric disturbance than the child in an intact home. His disturbance often takes the form of aggressive acting-out rather than neurotic behavior. Why he has trouble we do not know, but there is much speculation. When speculation is dignified to the level of hypothesis, it takes the following form: the adopted child born out-of-wedlock is reacting to the poor prenatal care the unmarried expectant mother often receives. Actually, there is empirical evidence to support this speculation. Unmarried expectant mothers do receive poorer care than married expectant mothers. This finding offers additional support to arguments for expansion of services to unmarried mothers before and after they give birth.

The fact that criteria and measuring devices for valid assessment of adoptive parents and, in most cases, for adopted children are questionable argues for deemphasizing selection procedures and supporting the practice of some agencies of concentrating on preparing applicants for adoptive parenthood. In these agencies the worker tries to help the adoptive parents do a better job rather than spending much time in evaluating and assessing.

The most difficult duty adoptive parents have to perform is to tell the child that he is adopted, a duty made more difficult when the child is reticent to ask. Adoptive parents should be encouraged to volunteer information. The child can be told without too great a risk that he will seek his biological parents. As a matter of fact, child welfare workers often tell the adoptive parents who the natural parents are with the result that adoptive parents do very little "seeking out" of natural parents (5).

Couples seeking to adopt a child of another race are not neurotic but, rather, are often independent of community opinion. However, interracial adoptions are not likely to solve the problem of finding adoptive care for minority group children. What appears to be called for is some kind of subsidization of adoption, an idea that is beginning to take root. During 1968-69, three States—New York, California, and Minnesota—passed legislation subsidizing adoption (6). It is too soon to have good hard data on the results.

A significantly higher percentage of hard-to-place children achieve successful adoption in the home in which they were initially placed in long-term foster care than children placed in a home for short-term foster care. Perhaps the adoption method with the greatest potential is to choose foster parents with adoption in mind. Currently, legislation is being considered in some jurisdictions in support of such procedures. Under these proposals foster parents who have cared for a child for some specific period of time would be given preference if the child becomes legally available for adoption (4).

Foster parents may be as much employees of an agency as they are parents and as such are a giant step removed from being adoptive parents. In many cases the distance is shortened or eliminated by selecting foster parents who would be adoptive parents if their economic circumstances were different. Often the distinction between foster and adoptive care is, primarily, legal and, secondarily, economic. As a matter of fact, one aspect for study is the balancing of benefits and costs between foster family care and other arrangements such as day care or, in some cases, even institutional care.

Foster family care

In 1967 there were about 230,000 children in foster family care, living, for the most part, in approved family homes, of which there were 132,000. The rate per 1,000 children in foster care increased slightly but steadily each year from 2.5 in 1933 to 3.2 in 1967. At the same time the rate of institutional care dropped from 3.4 to 1.1 (7).

Most children coming into foster care were from chronically deprived lower class families facing crises (8). Minority group children were over-represented, even though most children in foster care are white. Only 25 percent of the children were living with both parents in an intact family (9).

The single most frequent cause of placement was the mother's illness—either physical or mental—which reason accounted for 40 percent of the placements. About a third of the children were placed because of a host of family problems, including divorce and separation of the parents, abandonment of a child, and imprisonment of a parent. Most of the others were

placed because they had emotional problems, and they were, therefore, in the group of children who usually remain in foster care the longest (10). Underlying all these causes was low socioeconomic status. Even so, foster care rates vary greatly among the States, and the data imply that they are more related to the affluence of the States than to actual need (11).

Foster home care is far from being a panacea. In the early 1960's a nationwide study supported by the Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now in the Office of Child Development, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration and Management), found that 43 percent of all children in foster home care under public auspices and 17 percent of those in foster care under voluntary auspices were suffering from neglect or abuse. Public concern over such neglect or abuse has resulted in protective services, primarily under public auspices. Even so, there is a strong need for an expansion of knowledge about neglect and abuse to enable social workers to carry out the heavy responsibility for decisionmaking that is inherent in protective service (12) and to develop models of family behavior on which to assess family functioning in determining the extent of neglect and in considering the potential need for removal of the child from the family.

Neglect and abuse have been identified as the most important child welfare problem (12) and as a major cause for placement of children in foster care. To have neglect continue in foster care is to make a bad situation worse. What kinds of situations constitute neglect or abuse is to some extent a matter of community opinion and such opinion affects whether intervention will take place. Here are some illustrative cases, drawn from a research project on substitute child care and child neglect and abuse:

Mrs. Pitts has two daughters, age 7 and 9. The children have lice and suffer from impetigo . . . . Mrs Pitts has not kept clinic appointments or carried out the doctor's instructions.

More than 80 percent of the respondents favored intervention as a necessary action in this case.

In contrast, we have a situation involving emotional disturbance:

Jerry, a boy of 11, keeps to himself in school, does not play with other children, and seldom speaks to anyone. His teachers consider him tense and troubled. The parents have been asked to take Jerry to a guidance clinic, but have refused to keep the appointments because they do not feel the boy is having serious problems.

About 75 percent of the respondents were opposed to protective intervention in this case. Apparently neglect of a physical condition was considered a good deal more serious than neglect of an emotional problem, although, actually, Jerry's problem was a good deal more serious than the Pitts children's and required long-term therapy.

In between there are cases in which sexual morality is involved:

Mrs. Young is a divorced woman with three children under school age. She is fond of the children and gives them good, physical care. She is sexually promiscuous, however, and often has men staying overnight at her apartment.

How did the community vote? About 45 percent of the respondents were for interventions, *but only if the mother received AFDC.* This result suggests a new kind of double moral standard!

Foster parents are not a homogenous group, even though they generally are members of the blue-collar or semiskilled working class and are beyond middle age. The biggest differences occur in temperament and in their reasons for choosing to be foster parents. Some prefer preschool age children, others teenagers; some prefer short-term contact, others close, long-term, quasi-adoptive relationships. If the temperaments of the child and the foster parents complement each other, the probability of the child's staying in the home increases. Failure is often associated with these influences: the child's having spent more than 2 years in an institution, the parents' lack of understanding of the meaning of foster care, the age of the child at placement, and the child's having been placed in a substantial number of different homes.

All these variables argue for substantial agency and worker efforts shortly after the child moves into placement. The strongest efforts have to be made at the point of placement. The most crucial of all placements is the first, and the most crucial time in the first placement is the early period.

But many variables besides those mentioned have to be considered in the light of current research. Some others associated with failure are the foster parents' lack of warmth toward and understanding of the child, autocratic family relationships, and natural children in the home of about the same age as the foster child. Some variables associated with success are economic well-being, the foster mother's being experienced in child care, and a cooperative relationship between foster father and mother.

In one study most of the 100 people interviewed considered foster parents as having healthy motives for boarding children. The simple love of children was the outstanding reason given, particularly in neighborhoods with a high concentration of boarding homes. The financial motive for foster care, though considered important, was stressed less often than expected. It was stressed most in neighborhoods in which agency recruitment efforts had met with the least success. Apparently this study indicates that people often attempt to clothe their behavior in idealistic reasons (13).

Despite the findings of a significant relationship between low socioeconomic status and poor foster care, the danger of overgeneralizing these findings was clearly pointed out in one study in New York City (14). This study found that a group of public assistance families, despite economic dependency and its associated problems, had a stable, wholesome family life and a capacity for serving needy children. To select families like these for foster homes and to set them up properly require creative effort by an agency's staff.

When they grow up foster children are usually indistinguishable from their neighbors as self-supporting persons—living in attractive homes; taking care of their children, worrying about them, and making parental mistakes; participating in neighborhood activities; and finding pleasure in associating with others. They do not, however, always regard themselves as being indistinguishable from other men and women because they remember that as foster children they *were* different from other children.

What the research does do is point out the need for greater flexibility in the provision of services. We should, for instance, consider and evaluate the extension of homemaker services for more hours a day and for more days when a family is in crisis. There is little question that better resources such as day care and homemaker services available at the point of crisis would reduce the necessity for placement of some children (12).

Nonprofessional workers in child welfare agencies are performing the same functions as professional workers, and—as far as can be ascertained—are performing these functions as satisfactorily.

The implication for practice is clear. Agencies can hire nonprofessional workers with assurance that they will do well. If the agency hesitates to give them autonomy, it can make them members of a team led by professional workers, knowing they will carry their weight.

Institutional care

Less empirical research has been done on institutional care of children than on either adoptive care or foster home care. Whatever research there is indicates that, generally, children in institutional care do not do so well in cognitive and speech development as children in natural homes. One question always arises on this point: Is it fair to match groups of children from institutions with groups of children from natural homes and poor institutions with good natural homes? There is considerable agreement, however, that young children in institutional care run the risk of emotional damage, though recent research does not support a case for the permanence of damage. But whether institutions might be better organized to contribute to the development of children under 3 years old is a question for further study.

Considerable conflict exists between nonprofessional and professional child care workers. The most serious consequence of their discord is high staff turnover, resulting, as it does, in discontinuity in the relationships children have established with institutional "parents."

Positive effects on children in institutional care derive from personal contact with auxiliary workers, as the results of the foster grandparent program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity prove. Supplementary workers may be of special help to children in institutions because of the high turnover of full-time child care staff members (15).

Entrance into care at an early age and lack of contact with interested and concerned parents or other relatives are associated with a child's poor adjustment to an institution. Special individual stimulation in the institution is associated with more normal general development. Research suggests that we should not be too critical of institutions. For some children an institution is a satisfactory alternative to foster home care under certain conditions such as profound mental retardation. With a proper staff-child ratio, good programs, and a therapeutic environment, an institution can be satisfactory, given the alternatives, even for young children. The difficulty is in insuring the availability of conditions necessary to reduce the risk of emotional damage. The staff is the key, and workers must be supplied by a community willing to allocate resources—to pay good salaries to child care workers and to pay for their education. In turn social workers have to be willing to share with child care workers greater responsibility as coworkers on treatment

teams. Also wider use of auxiliary workers such as foster grandparents is desirable.

One innovation likely to be fruitful would be the establishment of a substantial number of group homes in the neighborhood of a central institution (16). The institution would have such facilities as clinics and infirmaries; schools; and homemaker, babysitting, counseling, and casework services. The foster parents in charge of the group homes would be agency employees, paid at least a living wage. This idea is similar to a plan widely and successfully followed in Europe—the children's village—though not yet tried extensively in the United States. Such a child care complex is a natural setting for developing "new careers" for the poor.

The literature suggests that many children are not accessible to the kinds of treatment commonly used in children's villages. For them other methods such as behavior modification (which is little used in child care institutions) may be useful. Also, we need to provide the child in the institution with experience in community living as a transitional step from the institution to society.

General considerations

A good deal of the research I have described (as well as related research not included in the discussion) was supported by the Research and Demonstration Grant Program of the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Part of this program is now in the Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) of HEW. SRS-supported research will continue, with an even greater focus on the needs of the child welfare agency.

With Freud out of fashion, there is little broad theory that would serve as an appropriate conceptual umbrella in any of the fields that have been discussed.

Available research has certain shortcomings, chief of which is the absence of unambiguous findings. Replication of good research in various settings would be helpful in the development of useful generalizations and principles. Theories based solidly on research and practical findings would also be helpful. For example, how and why does the social worker take actions that help the child resolve conflicts and learn how to live in one home after coming from another that engendered hostile attitudes in him? Or on what basis should rational decisions be made to move a child from his own home or to work to maintain the home for the child? When should a child be removed from one foster home and placed in another? Child welfare research will have to give more effort to decisions affecting child welfare. A variety of ways useful in other contexts such as systems analysis and operations research do have application in such decisionmaking. Perhaps some of the unemployed engineers and related professional workers can find new applications for their kinds of skill not now being used by the aerospace industry.

Social policymaking is another field that has possible applications to child welfare research and, more specifically, to the three components of it I have discussed here. For example, what would be the effects of substitute care programs of family allowances, a guaranteed annual income, the President's welfare reform program, subsidized adoptions, and adequate wages for foster parents?

Demonstrations or experimental research?

Most child welfare research on substitute family care has been demonstrative and evaluative. This is natural in a field where old ideas are tried and evaluated ad nauseum because it is easier to test them than more innovative methods. What happens if a degree of experimentation is introduced and something more spectacular is actually tried, with a control group available, and the seemingly diverse fields of child welfare and vocational rehabilitation are fused?

Recent research supported by SRS at the University of Wisconsin demonstrates that not only mental retardation in high-risk children but also the occupational and social failure of the mentally retarded mother can be reduced by a process called total or comprehensive family stimulation in slum families (17). All children, including infants, of the retarded mother are enrolled in a carefully prescribed program designed to make intellectual, academic, social, and occupational development easier. All preschool children are cared for 8 hours a day so that the mother can attend a rehabilitation program full time. She receives vocational training and instruction in homemaking, child-rearing, and basic education. Experience with groups of such mothers suggests that the experimental method may be a far more effective means of reaching and rehabilitating "cultural-familial" retarded adults than the traditional counseling-workshop method of vocational rehabilitation. Results with the children receiving treatment are outstanding

compared to those with children in a control group. In many instances in the experimental families, children who entered as infants were, when about 2 years old, advanced developmentally beyond their 3- and 4-year-old brothers and sisters.

The results of this study provide us with the possibility of a real discovery in the reduction of some aspects of chronic dependency. The "total family stimulation" method should be pursued further and replicated in several different locales to better establish its range of possibilities.

Where do we go from here?

It would be difficult to "summarize" what is already largely a summary, in this instance of research on several aspects of child welfare. I could evaluate, from a cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness point of view, alternative services designed to achieve the same objective. But it is more difficult (if not impossible) to put a dollar value on many of the outcomes of social services than on rehabilitation services directed toward employment. SRS is developing a measuring methodology to indicate the relative effectiveness of different combinations of services designed to achieve the same outcomes. Cost analysis is well developed in the child welfare field so that at least we will be able to analyze for cost-effectiveness alternative methods of delivering services designed to achieve the same or similar outcomes.

ANOTHER BROAD AND FRUITFUL AVENUE to develop is preventive measures to keep as many children as possible out of long-term foster care or institutions. Here is where the benefits are not only in cost savings but also in more productive and happier members of society. Developing a science and technology of prevention is another aspect being emphasized in HEW's research program. Cost-effectiveness demonstrations should follow logically, and they are also being emphasized.

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What Social And Behavioral Sciences Say About Aging

George L. Maddox and Marvin J. Taves

When resources are scarce, the decision to invest in research and development in aging rather than in additional services for the elderly is especially difficult. Nevertheless, precisely those elements that make careful selection of services to be offered to the aging most necessary—judicious, rational choices among service alternatives in complex situations—also make research essential. The American experience supports the wisdom of investing in the production of reliable information in social gerontology. The increasing number of old people and the size of the social commitment to their well-being merit a new assessment of current knowledge and the need for additional research and development in aging.

Early research on aging

The production of reliable and useful social and behavioral knowledge about human aging and the elderly was substantial during the 1950's, and in the early 1960's three outstanding volumes reviewing such knowledge critically were produced. The first, *The Handbook of Aging and the Individual*, edited by James E. Birren, became the foundation on which subsequent psychological research on development in the later years of life has built. The second, *The Handbook of Social Gerontology*, edited by Clark Tibbitts, and the third, *Aging in Western Societies*, edited by Ernest W. Burgess, have been used especially by sociologists, economists, political scientists, anthropologists, and social workers.[1]

Landmarks in gerontological research, these volumes are also notable for another reason. Their appearance illustrates the productive cooperation of the Federal Government, professional societies, and universities in the advancement of knowledge about aging.

Three recent volumes, developed under the direction of Matilda White Riley, with support from the Russell Sage Foundation, match these early notable reviews of gerontological research. Volume one, *An Inventory of Research Findings*, condenses and organizes a very large body of selected behavioral and social scientific research on human beings in their middle and later years. Volume two, *Aging and the Professions*, interprets the findings of the inventory for the several fields concerned with the well-being of older people and with the prevention and treatment of problems associated with aging. Volume three, *A Sociology of Age Stratification*, deals with age as a crucial variable in understanding the older person and the society in which he lives.[2]

These references to sources of behavioral and social scientific knowledge about aging and the elderly are not exhaustive, of course. But they do illustrate the

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range, variety, quantity, and quality of information available now. Although the extensive information on the social aspects of older people and the nature of the society in which they live is difficult to summarize, highlights of this information can be reviewed and such review is the purpose of this article.

Illustrative research findings

Research evidence has required a severe revision of our characterization of older persons during the past two decades. Earlier characterizations, based on inadequate evidence, pictured the elderly as uniformly poor, disabled, isolated, and depressed. Research shows that such characteristics are false. The elderly are not homogeneous! Most elderly persons in the United States live successfully in communities and typically report a general sense of well-being. Less than 6 percent are institutionalized. This positive image of the elderly does not deny that old age is associated with disadvantage. The old are demonstrably disadvantaged economically in our society, and they have a high incidence of disabling illness. Also they are disproportionately represented among the inmates of State mental hospitals.

Intellectual capacity. Our new knowledge about the complex interaction of biological, psychological, and social influences in the process of aging points up how difficult it is to disentangle the effects of intrinsic biological aging or illness from the effects of social experience and opportunities. Yet the distinction is important. Psychologists have convincingly demonstrated that disabling losses of intellectual capacity, conditions imputed to be common among the old, are not the inevitable fate of physically healthy older persons. Older persons retain a good capacity for learning, especially when the situation does not stress speed of response or arouse undue anxiety. Moreover, older persons in institutions who do not have severe organic brain damage can and do respond positively to opportunities provided by a stimulating environment. Similarly, industrial gerontologists have consistently demonstrated that older workers (age 45 and over) can perform common tasks at work much better than popular stereotypes would suggest.

Retirement. Though many older workers are physically and psychologically capable of productive employment beyond age 65, retirement is the experience of most persons at this age. In fact, in recent years workers who expect their retirement income to be adequate to their needs are retiring even earlier. Consequently, compulsory retirement between ages 65 and 70 for most and voluntary early retirement for a few have combined with increasingly delayed entry of young persons into the work force to produce a progressively shorter average work life. At the present time a man retiring at age 65 can expect about 13 years of retirement, a woman 18 years. The waking hours free of demands for grooming, eating, and personal care during retirement for them are equal to about half the hours they spent on the job throughout their working lives.

Health and economic status. Research on retirement and the retired has focused attention on the health and economic status of older people. Poor health is a major reason for retirement: about half the persons who retire would be unable to work even if they could find employment. Seven out of 10 persons age 45 through 64 report having a chronic health condition, although most experience no undue limitation on activity. Of every 10 persons age 65 or over, eight report having at least one chronic health problem and four indicate that they are aware of some limitation on activity as compared to earlier years.

As a result of declining health, persons age 65 and over are twice as likely as younger ones to be physically disabled and to require hospitalization. Once hospitalized, they usually remain in the hospital twice as long as younger persons. The cost of health care to older persons, consequently, is over twice the costs to younger persons. Poor health, which often strengthens the need to retire and to accept reduced income, also increases medical costs. This is the situation Medicare was intended to alleviate. However, in its first fiscal year (June 1966-July 1967), for example, Medicare met only 35 percent of all health care expenditures, which averaged $486 per elderly person that year.

The general economic situation of the elderly is now well documented. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, has declared $3,900 the minimum annual income necessary to sustain an older couple without dependency. Although their economic welfare has improved in recent decades, late in the 1960's about half the families with an elderly head had less than that. About three of every 10 older Americans live in poverty.

Analysis of data about the income of older persons indicates that their relative deprivation as compared to younger persons is not transitional. The median income

for families headed by elderly persons, in 1961, was 51 percent of that for families headed by young or middle-aged persons and decreased to 46 percent in 1967. If present trends continue, most older persons will have an income below any reasonable level of adequacy. The economic plight of older persons in minority groups is worse than for the elderly population as a whole.

Social integration. Despite the limits on income and health common among the old, most elderly persons are effectively integrated into the communities in which they live. Sociological research has clearly demonstrated that older people and their children typically maintain contact with each other and exchange a substantial amount of goods and services. The preference of both parents and their married children for separate households has not ordinarily led to their isolation from each other.

As pointed out, only a few elderly persons in the United States are institutionalized. The typical older person living in a community, though he decreases his involvement in social life as he grows older, remains socially active in a wide variety of roles. In old age, as in the middle years, men and women exhibit different levels of social involvement. But, in general, a relatively high level of social involvement indicates a sense of personal and social well-being among older people. Sociological research increasingly suggests that various styles of life can be equally successful, if by success is meant the effective meshing of personal needs and social expectations.

Political participation. Political scientists have found that age has rarely been significant in political behavior in the United States. Research has not conclusively demonstrated that people inevitably become more conservative as they age. And when generational and educational aspects are taken into consideration, older people are at least as active and as diverse in their politics as younger ones. Though older persons are as inclined as persons of other ages to vote on the basis of personal interests, they have shown little inclination in recent decades to develop political movements in which their self-interest is the primary issue. The possibility that the increasing number and visibility of the old, their need for services, and the worsening of their relative economic position will lead to political conflict in which age is a salient influence is now being seriously discussed for the first time in several decades.

Comparative studies. Social anthropologists and sociologists have compared the process of aging and the elderly in a variety of national and cultural settings, and their findings illustrate many similarities among older people in Western industrial societies. Relatively high levels of social involvement typically accompany a sense of well-being among the old, wherever they are found. But anthropological research also has demonstrated that in societies valuing the social contributions of the elderly and providing opportunities for their social involvement, old people remain active. Comparative research on ethnic groups in the United States have shown that value systems and kinship patterns have their effects on the lives of older persons.

Population studies. The number of older people in the United States, demographers have found, continues to grow faster than the population as a whole. At the present rate of growth, the elderly population will number about 28 million persons by the end of this century and will account for 11 percent of the population. Revised estimates of population composition that take into account a decreasing birth rate suggest that persons 65 years of age or older may be 16 percent of the total population early in the next century. This change in proportion would occur even in the absence of substantial changes in life expectancy at birth, which in 1965 was 70.2 for the total population: 67.7 for white men, and 74.7 for white women.

For men who reach age 65, the expected number of remaining years of life—13—has risen by less than 2 years since the beginning of this century; for women it has risen by 4 to 16 years. The greater increase in the life expectancy of women increases the ratio of older women to older men: it is already 120 to 100 and will soon be 143 to 100.

The U.S. population dependency ratio—that is, the number of persons between 15 and 65 who are presumably productive as compared to the number below 15 and over 65 who are presumably dependent—is considerably higher than in Western Europe: 67.3 percent as opposed to 50 to 55 percent. But the young contribute disproportionately to the U.S. dependency ratio. For older persons taken alone the ratio (15.7 percent) is lower than in Western European countries by several percentage points.

Older people in the United States exhibit growth trends similar to those observed in other Western countries. Only a radical change in mortality rates in the later years would change this pattern significantly.

Demographers have, however, begun to speculate about the effects of substantial changes in mortality rates on population composition. Reduction in mortality currently attributable to major cardiovascular-renal disease by 50 percent is estimated to have the potential of increasing life expectancy by over 3 years for persons 65 years of age. The combined effect of such reductions in most major diseases on life expectation at age 65 would, of course, be much greater. If major advances in the control of intrinsic aging influences were also achieved, increases in life expectancy in the later years of up to 25 years would be possible. In this case the dependency ratio of the old as now defined would increase appreciably, and the proportion of the population 65 and over might rise to 25 percent. Though, at this point, substantial changes in life expectancy are not expected soon, the possibility of such changes cannot be discounted.

Applications and demonstrations

These illustrations of basic behavioral and social scientific research suggest some of the information we have about the state of the old and the process of aging in our society. They also suggest some important information about the nature of our society and how it operates. Information about social structure and processes is necessary if social problems are to be anticipated, understood, and effectively resolved.

Consider, for example, the economic plight of a substantial number of retired persons and the evidence that their relative economic position is not improving. Problems of income maintenance in the later years follow from national policies that base social security payments on productivity during the years of employment and that depend on additional income from private provisions. Moreover, the development of costly pension systems decreases the willingness of industry to hire older workers in a declining labor market. Thus the demonstrated capacity of an older worker to be productive becomes largely irrelevant in a society in which his services are not in demand.

Consider another illustration. Knowledge about illness among the aging calls for providing adequate medical care for older persons at tolerable cost. The challenge is not so much to generate the medical care needed as it is to solve basic problems in the organization and financing of medical care generally. The medical care demands of older persons do not explain the current crisis in medical care; they only illustrate the crisis.

Or consider the use of free time. Older persons must deal with increasing amounts of leisure and are best able to adapt to changing social demands if they are flexible mentally and emotionally. But the old live in a society that concentrates leisure at the beginning and end of life and yet provides practically no opportunity to prepare for years of leisure or to develop the knowledge and the kinds of skill and attitude that would encourage and give substance to flexibility in response to changing demands. Social values in the United States emphasize productivity and associate productivity with the middle years. On both counts the old are disadvantaged.

The ultimate justification of research in social and behavioral aspects of aging is that it leads to the development of effective and efficient ways of achieving national goals for the elderly. It concentrates on an accurate description of aging and the elderly and on the identification of aspects that explain the situation observed. Thus it not only identifies desirable and undesirable states of affairs but also suggests ways of helping when change is desired. Our social security system illustrates an application of basic research on income distribution to the problems of income maintenance among the elderly. Continuous monitoring of the consequences of various income policies has provided a sound basis for recommending appropriate change in benefits.

In a sense Medicare and Medicaid are demonstration projects that explore effective ways to deal with the health needs of the elderly. They provide data for research on patient-practitioner response to such suggestions. The conversion of research into policy and of policy into action that has desired effects is complex. Neither social security nor Medicare has been an unqualified success. But these demonstrations do permit the identification of the consequences of certain policy decisions and do provide evidence for consideration in the reformulation and implementation of policy.

Locally a variety of demonstration prospects have tested the consequences of different ways of improving the social integration and well-being of the elderly. For example, the Administration on Aging of the Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS), U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, recently supported projects to demonstrate the positive effects of reduced fares on public transportation for older persons.

The Status of Research in Applied Social Gerontology, a publication of the Gerontological Society, prepared in cooperation with SRS' Administration on Aging, reviews some of the future needs for demonstration projects and documents various applications of research findings to problems of employment–health care, housing, and social services for the elderly.

In summary, basic research in the behavioral and social scientific aspects of aging has developed soundly in the past decade. The development of applied research has proceeded more slowly. But experience in applications of research findings is accumulating and the impediments to successful application are better understood than formerly.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS on aging are essential. They should be accompanied by the creation of improved procedures for synthesizing, retrieving, and disseminating the results of research efforts. Greater efforts are needed to see that producers and users of scientific knowledge have easier access to the information they require.

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[1] *These three books were published by the University of Chicago Press in 1960.*

[2] *Volume 1 was published in 1968; volume 2 in 1969; and volume 3 in 1970. Though the Russell Sage Foundation is the publisher, they are obtainable from Basic Books, Inc., New York, N.Y.*

Unemployed Young People

And Federal Training Programs

William W. Dickinson

Finding a job is one of the most important tasks we undertake in our lives. Unfortunately, for many Americans the search can be difficult and frustrating. None finds the task harder or more futile than the young person from the urban ghetto who is a school dropout. The difficulties he faces in finding employment and some of the job training programs supported by Federal funds that are aimed at helping him are the subject of this article. As used here, "dropout" means a person between the ages of 16 and 24 who has not completed high school, and "unemployed person" means one who did not work in a particular period of time but was available for and was seeking work.[1]

Although most young people in the United States entering the labor force have at least a high school education, a significant proportion do not and are considered dropouts.[2] During the year ended October 1970, some 700,000 young people from 16- to 24-years old left high school before graduating. As table 1 shows, the unemployment rate for dropouts was almost twice that for high school graduates.[3] During October 1970, only 26 percent of all young people 16-21 years old who had not graduated from high school and who were not in school were employed.[4] For dropouts 16 and 17 years old—about half of all dropouts—finding employment is usually quite difficult.

Lack of training, experience, and, seemingly, potential makes dropouts unattractive to many employers. Limited education, job insecurity, and unemployment are certainly related, especially for a young person from a minority group living in a large city. The untrained city dweller often finds himself subject to chronic low level employment, underemployment, and low wages.[5]

Though dropouts are more likely than high school graduates to come from low income families, aspects other than income such as personal and family ambitions and expectations may also determine whether a young person will drop out of school.[6] Other influences affecting the dropout problem include the young person's home life, his parents' occupational and economic attainment, and his race and minority group membership.[7] Young people growing up in deprived social environments, going to slum area schools, are living in a world different from that of middle class Americans. Middle class standards do not bind them; middle class ambitions seem illogical, unimportant, even impossible to them. Their intellectual potential cannot be accurately measured by IQ tests; and many middle class teachers cannot effectively teach them.[8]

When he goes to school, the ghetto child is often subjected to a curriculum based on the "foreign" experience and environment of middle class children. Little wonder the school seems to be "encouraging" him to drop out.[9]

The problem of many of the young people in slum areas who are disenchanted with high school curriculums is compounded by the situation in which many big city school systems find themselves. Their administrators cannot run efficient schools because they must spend a great deal of time obtaining funds for the

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Table 1. Employment status of high school graduates not in college and dropouts (16 to 21 years of age), October 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

Category	Graduates not in college					Dropouts				
	Civilian noninstitutional population	Civilian labor force				Civilian noninstitutional population	Civilian labor force			
		Total	Percent of population	Unemployed			Total	Percent of population	Unemployed	
				Number	Percent of civilian labor force				Number	Percent of civilian labor force
Men and women	5,823	4,566	78.4	528	11.6	2,757	1,611	58.4	347	21.5
White	5,143	4,065	79.0	429	10.6	2,103	1,243	59.1	232	18.7
Negro and other races	680	501	73.7	99	19.8	654	368	56.3	115	31.2
Men, total	2,146	1,966	91.6	236	12.0	1,241	1,024	82.5	219	21.4
White	1,887	1,744	92.4	195	11.2	918	787	85.7	153	19.4
Negro and other races	259	222	85.7	41	18.5	323	237	73.4	66	27.8
Women, total	3,677	2,600	70.7	292	11.2	1,516	587	38.7	128	21.8
White	3,256	2,321	71.3	234	10.1	1,185	456	38.5	79	17.3
Negro and other races	421	279	66.3	58	20.8	331	131	39.6	49	37.4

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, *May 1971.*

system from decreasing city revenue and complete tasks not directly related to education.[10] Many urban schools are staffed by poorly trained teachers, some of whom are "babysitters" or disciplinarians rather than teachers. Classes are too large, and many children do not acquire the learning necessary for good social functioning.[11]

This situation is particularly unfortunate because the United States is rapidly becoming a "credential society" where men are judged by their prework credentials. The use of formal education as a prerequisite for jobs diminishes the number of routes to success. It is almost impossible to succeed without a formal education.[12]

America's image has been one of a society where opportunity abounds and success comes to those who work hard—a false image many Americans believe, particularly those who are poor.[13] Although there are opportunities for advancement, it is often difficult for members of minority ethnic groups to find employment. Most school dropouts come from such groups.[14]

The dropout problem is not separate from other social problems but is woven into current social, cultural, economic, and political conditions.[15] Several Government-supported programs aimed at solving the employment problems of unemployed young people have met with various degrees of success. These include the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, Public Service Career Program, Manpower Development and Training Act programs, Concentrated Employment Program, Apprenticeship Training Program, and vocational rehabilitation programs. Table 2 shows the enrollment in the first six of these programs and the appropriation for each in fiscal year 1970 (July 1, 1969-June 30, 1970).

Job Corps

The Job Corps program was created by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and put under the

administration of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the U.S. Department of Labor (DoL) to provide underprivileged young persons with work, education, and vocational education outside their home environments (usually the city ghetto). Job Corps enrollees—corpsmen—are trained for jobs in many occupations, ranging from teacher aides to assemblers of simple electronic parts.[16] OEO says that in the 5 months between February 1965 and June 30, 1965, 12,370 young people took part for the first time. During fiscal year 1970 (July 1, 1969-June 30, 1970), 42,410 young men and women were first-time participants (see table 2).[17]

In July 1969 DoL reshaped the Corps program[18] because of the high dropout rate during the first 30 days after enrollment, the fact that most training sites were not close to job locations, and its feeling that not all the needs of disadvantaged young persons were being effectively served at all centers.[19] In 1969, therefore, 59 of the least effective urban centers were closed and other programs were used to serve the young persons then in the Corps program. Thirty new urban centers were planned.[20]

By the end of 1970, eight new centers, most providing residential housing and training services, were operating in urban areas. In addition to these residential centers, DoL proposed to set up 30 new support centers—centers without training components—to house and support disadvantaged young persons with severe personal problems who will enter work-training programs in their communities. At the end of 1970 only one of the support centers was in operation. One of the major hindrances to opening such centers has been the lack of appropriate sites.[21]

Table 2. Appropriations and enrollment in Federal job training programs, fiscal year 1970

Program	Total program appropriation[1] (in millions)	Number of young persons in program[2]
Job Corps	$169.8	42,000
Neighborhood Youth Corps	308.0	[3] 482,000
Job Opportunities in the Business Sector	162.1	40,000
Public Service Careers	87.0	[4] 600
Manpower Development and Training Act		
Institutional training	246.0	48,000
On-the-job training	59.8	32,000
Concentrated Employment Program	187.3	45,000
Total	$1,220.0	689,600

[1] *Funds include total appropriations for all activities of each program, regardless of the enrollee's age.* [2] *Enrollment data refer to first-time enrollees who were 16 to 21 years of age. Figures may overlap because an enrollee might complete one program and enter another during a fiscal year.* [3] *Young persons were from 14 to 21 years of age (includes high school students in the inschool program).* [4] *Young persons were from 19 to 21 years of age; statistics available only for the New Careers Program of the Public Service Careers Program.*

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Manpower Report of the President, *Apr. 1971, pp. 299, 303, 305, 310, and 311.*

Community Job Corps centers. The Community Job Corps (CJC) centers, or residential training centers, are part of an effort to tie manpower activities to a comprehensive attack on joblessness. The new community emphasis of the Job Corps program links intensive activities in residential living, education, work experience, vocational training, counseling, and other services to local manpower service delivery systems and other community resources.[22]

Only young men and women who are residents of urban areas in which CJC centers are located are eligible for the revised program. They must be disadvantaged, out-of-school members of low income families and in need of vocational training and better education. State employment service offices are designated as key agencies and work with local outreach programs.[23]

In contrast to the original Job Corps program, CJC participants may live at home. Program training is developed in cooperation with local business, industry, and public agencies to meet actual manpower needs in an area. A CJC enrollee explores various vocational choices with his adviser during a 3- to 4-week counseling period, and an "employability plan" is prepared for him based on his needs and abilities.[24]

Enrollees entering the program with less than sixth-grade reading ability receive reading instruction until they are able to take the high school equivalency examination. Health and family life education, orientation to the demands of holding a job, and other kinds of learning experience geared to the special needs of disadvantaged young people are also provided.[25]

CJC's vocational training component is offered only for jobs for which there are shortages of workers in the local area or for which there are commitments from local employers. Proposed contracts between CJC and local service agencies are not approved unless they are

endorsed by employers and labor unions. The young person's needs, availability of community training programs, and cost affect the determination of whether a corpsman enters a skill center's training program, private training service, or a training program operated by an employer or union. Manpower advisory councils, staffed by members of local organizations interested in manpower development, periodically review the training programs.[26]

As a result of such changes in the Job Corps, the program's emphasis, since mid-1969, has been on program quality and the coupling of residential services with other manpower training programs for young people.[27]

The Job Corps will admit young people into the program who are 16- to 21-years old, unemployed, and members of low income families. To screen large numbers of applicants, the Corps turns to other agencies for assistance, principally to DoL's Employment Service, its corresponding State agencies, and several community action agencies.

Because a person must be able to read before he can apply for practically all jobs, the improvement of a corpsman's basic education is one of the Corps' main objectives. In 1967 the average corpsman progressed in reading 125 percent faster than the average public school student; 1970 corpsmen also did as well.[28] Men in urban centers achieved better than those in nonurban or "conservation" centers.[29]

Urban and conservation centers. Urban centers emphasize vocational training for young people with reading ability at the sixth-grade level or better; conservation centers provide basic education and work experience in a rural setting (not unlike the Civilian Conservation Corps of the New Deal era) for corpsmen with acute education deficiencies.[30]

Duration of stay. Information on the Job Corps indicates that the longer the stay at the center the greater the benefits. Corpsmen remaining in centers for 7 months or more make higher educational gains in reading and mathematics than those who leave earlier.[31]

The latest DoL survey about the benefits of the Job Corps to former corpsmen was conducted in early 1969. Relatives, friends, and employers of former corpsmen were interviewed to evaluate how the experience had changed them. Fully 72 percent of the persons interviewed said that the corpsmen had benefitted and 3 percent said they had changed for the worse.[32]

Women in the Job Corps. Young women have been included in the Corps since its beginning. The Congress reasoned that poorly educated women raised in deprived homes raise poorly educated children, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty, and that the Job Corps experience should help future mothers improve their socioeconomic standing, even if they were not lifelong wage earners.[33]

Women in the Job Corps have, not unexpectedly, presented special problems. For one, they cannot be assigned to conservation centers, where the emphasis is on physical labor. Initially the Corps limited enrollment in women's centers to a few hundred, a decision not popular with many private contractors operating urban centers. These contractors preferred larger centers where more could be achieved for less money and diversified training could be provided for large groups.[34] In 1966 the Congress required that equal facilities be provided for both sexes. As a result, 16 Job Corps centers for men were closed because funds were insufficient to provide a like number of facilities for women.[35] As of April 1971, 30 percent of Job Corps enrollees were women.[36]

During 1970 the Job Corps started an experimental program, at DoL's Atlanta Regional Manpower Center (a training center for young low income mothers ages 16 to 21). Day care facilities and special housing units are provided for children so that mothers can take advantage of the job training offered by the center.[37] As of June 1971, the experiment was still in operation but had not been evaluated.

Number of enrollees in centers. Enrollment at Job Corps centers ranges from 25 to 250. The location of the center is directly related to how much it can do for the corpsmen. If the community where the center is located is hostile to the Corps, the goal of the program is much more difficult to achieve. However, with the passage of time, the centers and the communities in which they are located have learned to live with each other. Centers are located on Federal property: the conservation centers generally in scarcely populated areas of the West, the urban centers on abandoned military bases near cities.[38]

Placement record. The Job Corps placement record is good. Among the people completing programs in 1970 (corpsmen may stay in the Corps for up to 2 years), 91

percent were available for placement and, of them, 88 percent were placed.[39]

Neighborhood Youth Corps

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) program was authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and began in July 1965. In 1970 NYC had 482,000 first-time enrollees (see table 2).[40]

The program comprises three different but related components: a part-time employment program for young people in school, a program of remedial education and training in a skilled occupation for high school dropouts, and a summer program providing similar services for a much larger number of participants. The NYC enrollee earns $1.60 per hour. Out-of-school and summer program participants can work up to 40 hours a week; inschool participants can work up to 10 hours a week for 38 weeks during the school year.[41]

Out-of-school program. During 1970, 46,000 disadvantaged young people participated for the first time in the out-of-school program in about 550 projects across the country. Out-of-school projects emphasize remedial education, training for a skilled occupation, and other kinds of supportive services. Enrollees are mainly high school dropouts, usually 16 or 17 years old when they enter. They are helped to prepare for return to school or for admittance to a community college, a general education development certificate (equivalent to a high school diploma), or the best semiskilled or entry level jobs for which they can qualify.[42]

Most NYC projects are located in urban areas where communities have the resources to provide training services. In small communities and rural areas, most projects are only able to provide part-time jobs because community resources are not equal to the demand.[43]

Inschool and summer programs. The NYC inschool and summer programs are for potential high school dropouts in the ninth through 12th grades (14- to 21-years old). In fiscal year 1970, 814 projects served 74,000 first-time enrollees in schools throughout the country. The inschool program provides funds to enable students to stay in school. Many projects also furnish supportive services to encourage enrollees to stay in school.[44] The summer program provides remedial and job training and, like the inschool program, emphasizes supportive services. It serves five times as many young people as the inschool program.[45]

The kinds of jobs summer enrollees did in 1970 include working with the Water Quality Administration to help clean polluted waterways and a tutoring program to help younger children in reading and writing (an experience that helped them with their own reading and writing).[46]

According to a survey conducted for NYC in 1967 by Dunlap and Associates, the average time enrollees spent in out-of-school NYC projects in the first 9 months of 1966 was 14 weeks.[47] DoL reports that the average time spent in a NYC project during 1970 was 7 months.[48] It is difficult to determine the extent to which NYC participants had good work experience because of little or no feedback. However, the Dunlap survey included a followup survey on NYC participants interviewed from 5 to 15 months after they had left the NYC projects.[49]

The time a participant spends in a NYC project seems to have little effect on his later employment status. Although the Dunlap followup survey shows that more former participants were employed or taking further training no matter how long they had stayed in an NYC project, there is no indication that a longer stay results in increased employability.[50]

Job Opportunities in the Business Sector

One of the more unusual programs concerned with the training of disadvantaged persons (including young persons) for jobs is the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector Program (JOBS), an on-the-job program sponsored by DoL and the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), an organization of leaders in private industry.[51] It is authorized by Title II of the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.[52]

The JOBS program was established in 1968 through a commitment by the business community in 50 cities to hire a large number of disadvantaged persons and give them on-the-job training, counseling, health care, and other services to help them become productive workers. NAB enlists the support of the private sector and gets job pledges from private firms. DoL recruits job applicants, provides technical support, and meets the extra cost of employing people with special problems.[53]

JOBS participants receive training for jobs covering a wide spectrum of employment opportunities, includ-

ing jobs in manufacturing, industry, and private health and education service fields.[54]

Of the first-time participants in the JOBS program in fiscal year 1969, 24,000, or 47.8 percent, were between the ages of 16 and 21; in fiscal year 1970 the number was 40,000, or 46.6 percent (see table 2). The percentage of women in the whole program in fiscal year 1970 was 31.5.[55] How many were under 21 we do not know, nor do we have any further breakdown about the young men in the program.

The JOBS program is based on the idea that immediate placement in jobs at regular wages, followed by training and supportive services, provides superior motivation for disadvantaged persons. Besides training for skilled occupations, JOBS provides remedial education, counseling about personal problems, and day care services.[56]

In November 1969 JOBS was redesigned into a nationwide program. DoL began accepting contracts from employers nationwide, and NAB extended its endeavors geographically.

The redesigned program still operates in much the same way as the earlier program: what is different is the increased emphasis now placed on getting better jobs for workers already employed. The new emphasis came about because DoL found that many disadvantaged persons lack the education, skill, and other assets required to go beyond entry-level jobs.[57] The Federal Government now pays the extra cost of special training programs to increase the knowledge and skill of low level workers. To receive funds for the "upgrade training" an employer must have placed, or be under contract to place, disadvantaged persons in jobs.

During the first three quarters of fiscal year 1971, the number of disadvantaged people hired under JOBS was 73,106.[58]

JOBS' effectiveness varies from one firm to another. Management's commitment to the program does not assure the support of fellow workers and lower echelon supervisors. And neither the quantity nor the quality of supportive services is uniform among participating companies.[59] However, DoL believes that JOBS is really altering employer practices in hiring the disadvantaged as well as raising the job aspirations of low level workers.[60]

Public Service Careers Program

Another Federal on-the-job program for disadvantaged persons is the Public Service Careers Program (PSC). It helps poor and unemployed persons who are at least 18 years old find steady jobs in preprofessional public service fields where shortages exist. Typical preprofessional jobs are teacher and nursing aides, and jobs in subprofessional fields that, generally, do not require a college education. Projects under the program are established by contract with community agencies as well as (since 1970) with nonprofit agencies.[61]

PSC is really four programs in one. The first, the "New Careers" program—authorized by a 1966 amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act—began in March 1967. In fiscal year 1967 it served 1,000 first-time enrollees;[62] in fiscal year 1970, 3,600 new first-time enrollees, about 600, or 16 percent, of whom were 19 to 21 years of age and 77 percent of whom were women.[63]

The three other PSC components were established under MDTA[64] and began operating in June 1970. Statistics on them were not yet available as of October 1971.

PSC's second component is aimed at raising job levels in State and local governments. Under it disadvantaged persons age 17 and over are hired for entry level jobs and receive training services to help them overcome employment barriers.[65] These services are aimed at removing such employment barriers as inadequate education; lack of skill in a trade or occupation; lack of orientation to work; and health, transportation, and child care problems. It also tries to reform outmoded job structures and inadequate recruitment and training systems. The job improvement aspect is designed to help State and local agencies modernize their merit systems to make employee advancement earlier. Agencies pay participants' salaries; PSC funds are used only for the extra cost of removing barriers to employment for disadvantaged people.[66]

PSC's third component involves employment and job improvement in Federal grant-in-aid programs. Under this component DoL negotiates agreements with other Federal agencies to incorporate PSC projects into their grant-in-aid programs. PSC enrollees are then considered regular and permanent employees of the agencies in which they are placed. As in the second component, Federal funds are used only for the extra costs of removing employment barriers.[67]

PSC's fourth component is concerned with entry employment and job improvement in the Federal service. It centers on the Civil Service Commission's register of persons eligible for maintenance and service jobs. Workers, under this register, may be hired for a Federal job for which they have been rated suitable

after an interview, without taking an examination. After the normal probationary requirements are met, the worker becomes a regular employee of the agency where he works.[68]

Statistics concerning the number of young people, the proportion of dropouts, and placement for the last three PSC components were not available as of October 1971.

Manpower development and training programs

The manpower development and training programs authorized by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) served about 80,000 young persons under 21 years old in fiscal year 1970. These MDTA programs are concerned with giving an unemployed or underemployed person the training necessary to get a job and the experience necessary to move ahead when employed.[69] MDTA trains participants for a wide variety of entry-level jobs in occupations from paramedical aides to automobile mechanics.[70]

MDTA was authorized in 1962 to offer institutional or classroom training, on-the-job training, and part-time institutional training. The first two kinds of training have been offered since October 1962, the third since 1967. In fiscal year 1970 there were about 221,000 first-time participants,[71] of whom 80,000, or 36 percent, were under 21 (see table 2).

MDTA institutional training. This MDTA component is composed of multioccupational projects offered at centers that provide classroom instruction in a wide variety of occupations. Supportive services are also given to those disadvantaged trainees who need additional help. It emphasizes primarily training for jobs in which there are shortages of skilled workers. Under regulations adopted in 1966, at least 65 percent of all MDTA training opportunities must be used to train the economically disadvantaged. In fiscal year 1970 the percentage of disadvantaged trainees was 65.2.[72] Training is provided by HEW's Office of Education; and DoL is responsible for selecting applicants, referring them for training, and placing successful trainees in suitable jobs.[73]

MDTA teaching methods have improved, and methods have been developed to deal with reading disabilities, poor work habits, and unfamiliarity with employer needs and job requirements that makes success in school difficult for the economically disadvantaged.

Cooperative occupational training is another form of training that has, according to DoL, had success with low income trainees. In these programs an instructor-coordinator works with trainees and employers to help meet the needs of both. Training on the job is an extension of the classroom and is supervised by the school. The first phase includes basic education and occupational orientation; the second, more instruction in the classroom and at the job site, along with guidance and counseling.[74]

In fiscal year 1963 (the first operating year) the institutional training component trained 32,000 persons, of whom 15,400, or 48 percent, obtained employment after completing the program. In fiscal year 1970, 130,000 new enrollees were trained, 62,000 of whom found posttraining employment. The proportion of trainees in the institutional program under 21 years of age in fiscal year 1963 was 25 percent; in fiscal year 1970, 37 percent. The proportion of women increased from 36 percent in fiscal year 1963 to 41 percent in fiscal year 1970,[75] but no age breakdowns for women are available.

Part-time program. In 1966 the Congress amended MDTA to add a part-time institutional training program[76] to enable persons with jobs to move up the occupational ladder through training. Participants receive classroom training in the evening, after regular working hours. The program began in fiscal year 1967 with 400 participants.[77] In fiscal year 1970 it had places for 15,700 (disadvantaged) persons. Statistics on the actual number of enrollees are not available but are combined with statistics for the institutional category. Statistics on the proportion of young persons and the proportion of women in the part-time program are also unavailable.[78]

MDTA on-the-job training. The on-the-job training component of MDTA is a program through which the unemployed and the disadvantaged are hired by private employers (under contract with DoL) and are trained on the job for regular jobs, usually with the firm that trained them.[79]

In fiscal year 1963 MDTA on-the-job training programs served 651 young people under age 21 out of a total of 2,100 first-time enrollees. In fiscal year 1970 there were 91,000 first-time enrollees, of whom, 32,000, or 35 percent, were under 21 years of age. DoL followup studies done 6 months after 1970 trainees completed programs show that 53,300 (or 59 percent) had kept their jobs.[80]

During fiscal year 1971 the on-the-job training program was transferred to State governments and now is operated by State employment agencies. It is closely coordinated with the JOBS program, but it is still concerned with providing on-the-job training for the disadvantaged and operates in much the same way at the State level as it did at the Federal.[81]

The Concentrated Employment Program

The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) is designed to coordinate the several different manpower programs serving the disadvantaged, over 45,000 of whom were under 22 years of age in fiscal year 1970 (see table 2). It was established in 1967 under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. About 53,000 disadvantaged persons were first-time enrollees in fiscal year 1968; about 110,000 in fiscal year 1970.[82] The percentage of women in the programs coordinated by CEP during fiscal year 1970 was 41.5.[83] The percentage of enrollees placed in jobs after training during that year was 40.4.[84]

Participants in CEP-sponsored programs are trained for almost any job that is available in a community. Examples include welders, carpenters, and other kinds of positions in the construction industry; printers; clerks and salesmen in retail stores; and teacher aides.[85]

CEP combines individual manpower programs into a service system and concentrates the efforts of the system on specific urban slum neighborhoods or impoverished rural areas. In fiscal year 1970 there were CEP-sponsored projects in 82 cities and 13 rural areas[86] providing training and supportive services to disadvantaged persons to help them obtain steady jobs. CEP aims at achieving a balance between training opportunities and services of various types to meet specific needs and to insure preparation for stable, worthwhile employment.[87]

Programs coordinated by CEP work through a single sponsor—usually a local community action agency. The sponsor plans and implements the program in coordination with other agencies and planning groups and draws up subcontracts with other agencies for specific program units.[88]

The employment service usually provides the basic services enrollees need to get and keep jobs, including a determination of individual abilities and interests, orientation to work, working with employers to open opportunities to the hard-core unemployed, and keeping in touch with the trainee after employment to help him adjust to work.[89]

Other services provided by CEP-sponsored programs include basic education, training for a skilled occupation, and various supportive services. Public schools and junior colleges often furnish the educational services, and various local government agencies offer opportunities for work experience through NYC and other work programs. On-the-job training in private industry is provided by subcontracts with individual firms and through JOBS.[90] Thus CEP coordinates several manpower training programs to give the disadvantaged more opportunity to get and keep jobs.[91]

Apprenticeship Training Program

DoL's Apprenticeship Training Program is for young people 16 to 26 years of age who want to learn a craft and hold a job at the same time. Apprentices are trained by experienced craftsmen as aircraft fabricators, automotive body repairmen, dental laboratory technicians, optical technicians, operating engineers, and machinists, to list some of the occupations. The program was authorized by the National Apprenticeship Act of 1937 and began operating that year.[92] In 1941 there were 14,177 newly registered apprentices in the United States. In 1970 the number was 108,779. About 45,000 apprentices completed training in 1970; and at the end of the year 279,693 were being trained in skilled trades or crafts, ranging from carpentry to dental assistance.[93]

The apprentice is a member of a labor team and learns on the job as well as in the classroom. He is paid wages ranging from 40 to 90 percent (depending on how long he has been an apprentice) of the prevailing wage rate for journeyman.[94] An agreement between the apprentice and his employer determines the work processes in which he is trained, the hours he works, and other conditions.[95]

Apprenticeship programs are administered through the voluntary cooperation of labor unions, management, schools, State apprenticeship agencies, and DoL's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The Bureau does not conduct training programs itself but acts as an adviser, promoting standards for apprenticeship training in conjunction with management, labor, and local community agencies responsible for the development of journeymen through apprenticeship.[96]

Vocational rehabilitation and young people

The vocational rehabilitation program is a Federal-State grant-in-aid program that served 88,027 people with physical and mental disabilities under the age of 24 during fiscal year 1969. During fiscal year 1969 about 235,668 persons were rehabilitated by State vocational rehabilitation agencies. Of them 55,902, or 23.3 percent, were under the age of 20 (see table 3). In fiscal year 1968, 45,903, or 22.5 percent, of the 204,463 persons rehabilitated or receiving rehabilitation services were under 20 years of age; in fiscal year 1967, 37,611, or 22.5 percent, of 167,361 persons in rehabilitation were under 20. Table 3 shows that during the 3 years mentioned (fiscal years 1967-69), the age category with the highest percentage of persons who were rehabilitated was the "less than 20 years."[97]

During rehabilitation, State vocational rehabilitation agencies often provide academic training, business or vocational school training, on-the-job training, and training in developing acceptable work habits and work tolerance. Materials provided with training include books, learning aids, small equipment for certain types of industrial occupations and on-the-job training, uniforms, and various other kinds of special training supplies.[98]

Conclusions

A review of the various training programs described here leaves a great many questions for which decision-makers need answers. These programs should show precise results and permit comparability of program outcomes.

Many of the programs considered here focus on the same people—undereducated and underskilled young people from low income and mainly urban families. Many are designed to serve young people in urban areas and, for the most part, ignore the large number of disadvantaged young people in rural areas. Yet the programs have the same objectives—to educate and train young disadvantaged persons for employment and place them in jobs.

The main questions for which answers are not clear or are not available are these:

- To what extent do programs duplicate each other and overlap? To what extent do young people have the choice of applying for more than one program or of moving from one program to another? To what extent are disadvantaged young people aware of programs available to them or prevented from being selected for training?

- Which program best meets its objectives? Which program is most efficient and effective? Which has the lowest unit costs or the highest proportion of job placements? To what extent does job placement reflect training, job development, or labor market conditions?

- Which administrative structures, organization of programs, and selection of teachers are most productive?

- Which teaching and training methods are most useful to the trainee? Does he find on-the-job training more satisfactory than classroom instruction? Does work-environment training rather than outside training make the trainee more acceptable to the employer? Is a combination of both methods the best

Table 3. Age of persons rehabilitated by State vocational rehabilitation agencies, fiscal years 1967-69

Age of persons rehabilitated	FY 1969		FY 1968		FY 1967	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Number of rehabilitations reported . . .	235,668	100.0	204,463	100.0	167,361	100.0
Under 20	54,902	23.3	45,903	22.5	37,611	22.5
20 - 24	33,125	14.1	27,505	13.5	22,937	13.7
25 - 34	42,784	18.2	36,529	17.9	29,643	17.7
35 - 44	41,677	17.7	37,463	18.3	31,434	18.8
45 - 54	37,321	15.8	33,596	16.4	27,158	16.2
55 - 64	21,851	9.3	19,722	9.7	15,408	9.2
65 and over.	4,008	1.7	3,745	1.8	3,170	1.9

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Rehabilitation Services Administration, Characteristics of Clients Rehabilitated in Fiscal Years 1965 - 1969, *p. 8.*

solution? Which does the trainee like best? Which gives him the most insight into the demands of a job?

- Finally, which program returns to the taxpayer the most value for his money?

From the beginning most of the programs described here were designed, approved, supported, and implemented without rigorous evaluation components. What evaluation there has been was *a posteriori* and based mainly on the proportion of trainees who completed a program and found employment. Not enough current information is available to indicate how many trainees placed in jobs were still on the job 6 months or a year later and why those who were not had lost their jobs. If an important objective of these training programs is to introduce such young people to work for permanent results, then we should like to know, for each program, how the trainees fared in broadening their experience and increasing their skill and the extent to which they were able to move up in their occupations. Fitting them into job slots is not quite enough. We would like to know, from a long-term point of view, whether the training gives the trainee an appreciation of the value of work, aspirations beyond his parents', and a feeling of competency and self-assurance. In other words, does the experience make him not only a permanent member of the labor force but also a better citizen?

The success of a training program may depend largely on the labor market analyst—how well he knows the current job market and can estimate what the job market will be, what kinds of jobs will be available, and what the requirements for them will be and can advise program staff members on how to adjust training programs to changing labor demands.

An evaluation of a manpower training program has many variables to consider: the most important are the benefit to the trainee through the education and training he receives, the extent to which he acquires positive work attitudes and work discipline, and his motivation for continued learning and improvement. A program is successful, in the program staff's view, when the trainee gets a job and holds it for a reasonable period of time. The fact that a trained worker increases his income and may even work himself out of poverty benefits not only him but society as well.

But the percentage of dropouts in any training program is also part of the evaluation. If the dropout left the program because he obtained a job, the results of his action may be as positive as his completing the training course. But if the trainee left the program because he lost interest, did not believe training would be helpful, or did not obtain a job, then the money and effort wasted are an additional program cost. There are, of course, unavoidable reasons for quitting the program such as bad health, pregnancy, or family responsibilities. Training programs aimed at helping young welfare mothers often falter for these reasons or because day care arrangements for children turn out poorly.

Finally, the evaluation of a training program—considering that some are experimental or demonstrative—must take into account the program's acceptance on a larger scale and the support it receives from the local community. Programs like MDTA or the work incentive (WIN) program (for welfare mothers) have received such support and are the base for legislative action on manpower training programs in welfare reform.

But because the problems of young people in finding employment with possibilities for moving up are different from those of mature underemployed or unemployed persons, who may have families to support, the training programs for young people might ideally be designed as long-term processes, processes that do not stop with the first job placement but continue to offer guidance and counseling, monitoring, and opportunities to improve or increase skill within carefully structured career sequences.

It is equally important for employers, manpower specialists, and program directors to be aware of the economic, social, and psychological effects their programs may produce as well as the obstacles to success that must be overcome.[99]

Finding jobs for disadvantaged young people is difficult during periods of high unemployment. In such a labor market, the unemployment rate for young people, especially young people of minority groups, may be twice that of the general labor force. This fact may mean that from 12 to 30 percent of all young people are looking vainly for jobs in any one community. In such a market private employers have no incentive to increase training in general and that of disadvantaged young people in particular. Without Government help in some form of subsidy, therefore, there can be little hope that private enterprise can solve the job problems of undereducated and inexperienced young people.[100]

The programs reviewed here, though possibly not structured in the most efficient and effective way, are nevertheless of critical importance today to the young people to whom they are addressed.

It may be asked, however, whether other means

could be explored to prepare young people for jobs. For example, the school system might be modified to permit junior high school graduates to move on to subsidized trade school or vocational school training and be ready for jobs at age 17. This type of schooling may be helpful to disadvantaged young people for whom the academic high school is boring or meaningless.[101] Though girls can acquire skill in typing or secretarial work in most regular high schools and are ready for the job market at graduation, boys rarely have the opportunity of getting training in trades and crafts leading directly to jobs.

One lesson clearly emerges from a review of these programs. In any new or restructured program, an evaluation component should be built in from the beginning to study the design and the operation and the outcomes of the programs. The evaluation should permit comparability in program evaluation. Similarly, if any general coordination and rationalization of these programs should be planned, the design must include a systematic assessment of costs and benefits.

ONLY WHEN IT IS POSSIBLE to rank these programs by some measure of cost-effectiveness will decision-makers be able to select those that yield the greatest benefits and discard those that are not worth the effort or the cost.

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[1] *Both definitions are from Vera C. Perrella, "Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts,"* Monthly Labor Review, *June 1969, p. 36.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Anne M. Young, "Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts,"* Monthly Labor Review, *June 1969, pp. 36-37.*

[4] *Ibid., p. 37.*

[5] *Robert A. Dentler and Mary Ellen Warshauer,* Big City Dropouts and Illiterates *(New York: Center for Urban Education), 1965, pp. 1-2.*

[6] *Young, op. cit., p. 37.*

[7] *Dentler and Warshauer, op. cit., p. 5. Racial prejudice and discrimination are real barriers to employment of young minority group members; however, the issue has been adequately discussed elsewhere and need only be noted here as a recognized fact.*

[8] *Bernard Asbell, "Not Like Other Children," in* Work, Youth and Unemployment, *Herman, Sodolfsky, and Rosenberg, eds. (New York: Crowell), 1968, p. 243.*

[9] *Robert L. Heilbroner, "No Room at the Bottom," in* Work, Youth and Unemployment, *Herman, Sodolfsky, and Rosenberg, eds. (New York: Crowell), p. 267.*

[10] *Paul Goodman, "The Universal Trap," in* Profile of the High School Dropout, *Daniel Schribner, ed. (New York: Random House), 1967, p. 27.*

[11] *Ibid.*

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[13] *Goodman, op. cit., p. 29.*

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Dentler and Warshauer, op. cit., p. 55.*

[16] *Statement of Leon Schertler, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Sept. 13, 1971.*

[17] *Statement of James Pembroke, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, June 22, 1971.*

[18] Manpower Report of the President, *1970, p. 71.*

[19] *Ibid., p. 72.*

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Manpower Report of the President, *1971, p. 47.*

[22] *"Federal Contract Guides Issued for Community-Oriented Job Corps,"* Current Reports - Manpower Information Service *(Washington: Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.), Dec. 3, 1969, p. 7.*

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid., p. 8.*

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Manpower Report, *1970, op. cit., p. 72.*

[28] *"Educational Gains," Office of Economic Opportunity (Assessment and Research Report, No. 5), Jan. 1967, p. 4 (mimeo.); see also* Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit. p. 48.*

[29] *Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum,* Federal Training and Work Programs in the Sixties *(Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations), 1969, p. 189.*

[30] *Ibid., pp. 164-65.*

[31] Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., pp. 47-48.*

[32] *U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration,* Job Corps Evaluation and Research *(Washington: The Department, Plans and Program Directorate), June 1969; also Leon Schertler, Manpower Administration, DoL, June 28, 1971.*

[33] *Levitan and Mangum, op. cit., pp. 174-75. The inclusion of young disadvantaged girls in the Job Corps to help raise their socioeconomic level becomes even more important when we realize that women at lower socioeconomic levels have larger families and more children than young women at higher socioeconomic levels; more children mean greater responsibilities as well as the greater stretching of small income: see Catherine S. Chilman,* Growing Up Poor *(Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1966, p. 71.*

[34] *Levitan and Mangum, op. cit., p. 175.*

[35] *Ibid., p. 176.*

[36] Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., p. 47.*

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Levitan and Mangum, op. cit., p. 177.*

[39] Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., p. 48.*

[40] *Statement of Martin Morgan, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, July 1, 1971.*

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., p. 45.*

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid., pp. 46, 299.*

[45] *Martin Morgan, op. cit.*

[46] Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., p. 46.*

[47] *Dunlap and Associates, "Survey of Terminees from Out-of-School NYC Projects" (Darien: Dunlap and Associates), 1967; see also* Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., p. 46.*

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[50] *Ibid., pp. 224-26.*

[51] Manpower Report, *1970, op. cit., p. 61.*

[52] *Statement of Donald Olsen, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, July 6, 1971.*

[53] Manpower Report, *1970, op. cit., p. 62.*

[54] *Statement of Harold Rieve, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Sept. 13, 1971.*

[55] Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., p. 311.*

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[64] *Ibid.*

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[77] *Ibid.*

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[82] Manpower Report, *1971, op. cit., p. 299.*

[83] *Ibid., p. 310.*

[84] *Statement of Henry Rosenblum, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Aug. 3, 1971.*

[85] *Statement of Harold Rieve, op. cit.*

[86] *Statement of Henry Rosenblum, op. cit.*

[87] Manpower Report of the President, *1969, p. 132. This is the latest description of the concept and organization of CEP.*

[88] *Ibid., p. 133.*

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] *A similar program is the Youth Opportunity Center Program, presently operated individually by State employment service agencies.*

[92] *Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor,* Apprenticeship, Past and Present *(Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1969, p. 16.*

[93] *"Apprentice Registration Actions," Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, unpublished, July 1971; also "Apprenticeship Trends, 1941 to present" [undated].*

[94] Apprentice Training—Sure Way to a Skilled Craft, *Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969.*

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[99] *Greenleigh Associates, Inc.,* The Job Opportunities in the Business Sector Program: An Evaluation of Impact in Ten Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas *(New York: The Associates), June 1970.*

[100] *See John L. Iacobelli,* Training Program of Private Industry in the Greater Cleveland Area *(Cleveland: Cleveland State University), Jan. 1970, passim.*

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BOOK NOTES

Income Maintenance Research

Income Maintenance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Research, Larry L. Orr, Robinson G. Hollister, and Myron J. Lefcowitz, eds., with the assistance of Karen Hester (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company), Institute for Research of Poverty Monograph Series, 1971, 339 pp., $10.95.

FOUR DEVELOPMENTS in the formulation of public policy preceded the collecting of the essays brought together in *Income Maintenance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Research:*

Late in 1969, when the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) was considering alternative models of a reformed welfare system, it became obvious that research on and experimentation with income maintenance were needed to answer the many questions being raised by the interdisciplinary group of social scientists whom the Secretary of HEW was consulting about the structure of a uniform, equitable Federal welfare system.

At about the same time, a task force appointed by President-Elect Richard M. Nixon, under Richard P. Nathan (now HEW's Deputy Under Secretary for Welfare Reform), was exploring new avenues to welfare reform and the role income maintenance should play in it.

The Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin, under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), developed a Graduated Work Incentive Experiment to test the labor force response of working men heading poor families to alternative income transfers in several cities in New Jersey and one in Pennsylvania. The project began in the summer of 1968. The basic model of the experiment was of the negative income tax type. (The HEW consultant group also recommended this type rather than such alternative methods as children's allowances, demogrants, or improvements in the existing welfare system.)

The introduction of President Nixon's welfare reform bill (H.R. 1) to the Congress is the fourth. The negative income tax model provides the theoretical foundation for this bill as well as for the structure now being tested in comprehensive income maintenance experiments supported by HEW in Seattle, Denver, and Gary. (Though these experiments are only briefly mentioned in the book, they are intensively treated by Harold W. Watts, Mordecai Kurz and Robert G. Spiegelman, and Terrence F. Kelly and Leslie Singer in three papers on the "Current Status of Income Maintenance Experiments" in the American Economic Association's "Papers and Proceedings of the Eighty-third Annual Meeting, 1970," *American Economic Review*, May 1971, pp. 15-43.)

Many issues remained to be tested: there were the obvious ones of the effect of income maintenance on the work incentive of men and women; on family stability and functioning and on marital fertility; and on how a family decides to save and spend its income and what debts it is willing to incur. And there were the less obvious ones such as the effect on the migration propensities of the poor and on the level and industrial composition of economic activity in metropolitan and rural areas. Finally, important questions remained about the most effective and efficient organization needed to administer an income maintenance system; about accounting and reporting periods; about the demand for employability training and supportive social services; and about how all these should be structured.

To develop the analytical tools necessary to approach these questions systematically, HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service contracted with the Institute for Research on Poverty of the University of Wisconsin for a major research project. The result was a lengthy report, "A Comprehensive Analysis of the Issues for Research: Demonstration and Experimentation in Income Maintenance," prepared by Robinson G. Hollister, Myron J. Lefcowitz, and Larry L. Orr, the principal investigators (and the editors of the book under review). They had the collaboration of a diverse interdisciplinary group of social scientists, including leading economists and sociologists, from other departments of the University of Wisconsin and from other universities across the country (see box).

The present collection of essays is an outcome of this report. Papers were selected for their significance,

new papers were added, and some highly technical papers were omitted to make the volume more understandable to the lay reader. The result is a concise, readable, thought-provoking book. Its scope goes beyond the definition of "income maintenance," as its contributors are also concerned with the characteristics of the nonworking poor as well as the working poor and their responses to nonfinancial as well as financial help. The book represents the current state of knowledge on income maintenance theory and experimentation, as seen by sociologists, economists, psychologists, social workers, lawyers, regional and urban planners, and political scientists. It supplies many but by no means all answers to questions that have come up in planning for a national welfare reform system, with special reference to its objectives, its methodologies and administrative issues, and its expected outcomes.

Income Maintenance could serve as a useful handbook to policymakers in welfare reform planning and could be equally valuable to students of social welfare and economists involved with experimentation in income maintenance. Of particular importance would be not only the specific answers that emerged from the analysis as observed by men from different branches of the social sciences but also the many gaps indicated in theory and knowledge still challenging further exploration.

As one of the editors points out, the type of research effort presented by these essays, prepared in a 9-month period, yielded a project with characteristics somewhere between the short-term studies of consultants and long-term substantial research projects. It consists of a new type of input to Government agencies. Most of the issues emerging from the analysis indicate the need for further research, but some permit immediate policy recommendations.

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Income Maintenance is divided into four parts. The first contains essays on the theory for and the practical development of the OEO-New Jersey income maintenance experiment. The second part is concerned with the priorities of experimentation and with the plan for a program of experimentation as applied to such special problems as assistance to the aged, the work response of welfare mothers, and marital stability and fertility. The third part consists of exploratory studies on the economic and social effects on the community. And the last part concerns responses to nonfinancial aspects of negative income tax programs such as to administrative and public policy issues and the coordination of such programs with other social welfare programs.

The research group considered a host of issues and problems that open up broad questions for further research before the gaps in knowledge could be closed. These are reflected in the essays. Speaking for the group of contributors in the introductory essay, Hollister points out two unusual features of the income maintenance analysis as presented in this book:

> First, the process of starting with the development of a comprehensive listing of behavioral responses and narrowing to priorities for research by exploration of the state of knowledge about responses and application of criteria of policy relevance and methodological feasibility; second, the fact that this was, in a sense a *preresearch* analytical effort, we attempted to isolate both issues and methods of research approach to those issues in order to provide guidance in the allocation of resources to, and the undertaking of, the actual research effort.

Many important issues remain only partly answered in these essays. Compared with a national income maintenance program that could raise serious problems of feasibility, equity, and administrative efficiency and require meticulous and farsighted planning, a program of the minute proportions of an income maintenance demonstration project raises ethical issues in social experimentation. This is so because these experiments are concerned with attempts to change the responses and the behavior of people according to generally accepted criteria of "desirable" attitudes toward work, family functioning, and other persons. Moreover, the level of living of the experimental families is raised arbitrarily for a period of some 3 years; then if no general program of welfare is available to further assist them, the

cutoff from income transfers can be traumatic (Elesh, Ladinsky, Lefcowitz, Spilerman, and Bawden).

The essayists raise questions about the adequacy of existing theory and measurement methods. The ability to pose testable hypotheses may be constrained by the state of knowledge in measuring responses such as defining the measurements of institutional change for indices of political participation and tension, social adjustment or alienation, adequacy of social services, and effect on family size and structure (Orr). There are serious problems in measuring the effects of income maintenance on fertility and illegitimacy during a 3-year period because theories linking economic status to these variables are not yet well developed (Sweet and Cain). Similar problems exist in attempting to predict the effect of an income maintenance program on such macroeconomic variables as employment, interest rates, and the price level (Nichols). Even from the standpoint of a national program, of course, answers to these questions are crucial to its success.

Community effects, similarly, are not easily assessed because there is no adequate theory, nor are there measurements of changes in community structure and dynamics. Two types of "community effects" are of special concern: the particular organizational structure and informal networks of communities may condition the response of families to income maintenance reform and the reform itself may have some effects on the organizational structure and informal networks of the communities (Lefcowitz). The propensity of the poor to migrate to metropolitan centers may be arrested in the short run only by a national income maintenance program; the long-run effects probably cannot be separated from the long-run trends in the levels, distribution, and composition of economic activity—an activity increasingly concentrated in the metropolitan areas of the Nation (Bonner).

Yet an income maintenance program of the negative income tax type could have a measurably favorable impact on the quality and, in particular, on the number of substandard housing units that might be brought up to standard (Nourse). What impact income maintenance will have on advancing the economic and social mobility of people may depend on their ethnicity and how, therefore, different ethnic groups assess economic achievement and occupational status according to their distinct value systems. The diversity of individual adaptations to income maintenance will be better understood if account is taken of different social groups in poverty and how their behavioral correlates of poverty will respond to this intervention (Spilerman and Elesh).

The question whether social services given to recipients of income maintenance will help improve their major life style will need to be studied by developing criteria of service impact. Such a study may provide information about the relationship between personal characteristics and individual demands for service, which, in turn, would be helpful in determining how the potential demand for social services varies among different ethnic and racial groups, whether there is a relationship between demand for social services and the experience of personal or interpersonal problems, and whether services offered under different delivery systems would reveal different emphases (Piliavin).

The need to develop predictive models of the impact of income maintenance in interaction with other programs is stressed. Definitions of income, eligibility, income accounting period, the family unit, and the administrative features of an income maintenance program will all affect the response of persons and institutions, as will, of course, the level of income guarantees and the incentive tax rates. Reliable guides must be provided through careful, quantitative research, using the skill and insight of a variety of disciplines (Orr).

If the authors of these essays seem to raise more questions than they answer, it must be kept in mind that lack of knowledge of certain aspects is the nature of income maintenance as a program concept because it is still a developing concept and full knowledge of its structure and effects cannot be expected at this time. Perhaps many different models will need to be tested before there is assurance that a national program will work equitably and equally well for all groups of poor people in the United States, whether in metropolitan centers, in small towns, or rural areas. At least, this collection of analytical papers presents new directions in thinking and research that should help ease the formidable task ahead by shedding light on the policy debate about welfare reform, for which definitive answers do not yet exist but which must be resolved soon because the time for a change has come.

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SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

National Center for Social Statistics

Applications, cases approved, and cases discontinued for public assistance, October-December 1970. Report A-9 (10-12/70), 3 pp. text and 10 tables. Presents data, by State, on the numbers of applications received, pending, and disposed of, and on cases approved for assistance, October-December 1970.

Assessments completed and referrals to manpower agencies by welfare agencies under work incentive program for AFDC recipients, April-June 1971. Report E-5 (4-6/71), 3 pp. text and 8 tables. Presents data on welfare aspects of the work incentive program (WIN) for AFDC recipients during April-June 1971.

Fair hearings in public assistance, January-June 1970. Report E-8 (1-6/70), 3 pp. text and 13 tables. Presents data on hearings in public assistance.

Public assistance statistics, July 1971. Report A-2 (7/71), 3 pp. text and 14 tables. Presents data on services provided to public assistance recipients in July 1971.

Public assistance statistics, August 1971. Report A-2 (8/71), 3 pp. text and 14 tables. Presents data on services provided to public assistance recipients in August 1971.

Reasons for discontinuing money payments to public assistance cases, July-September 1970 and October-December 1970. Report A-11, 5 tables. Presents data on number of cases for which money payments were discontinued during July-September 1970 and October-December 1970.

Reasons for disposition of applications other than by approval, January-March 1971. Report A-10 (1-3/71), 3 pp. text and 4 charts. Presents data on reasons for disposition of applications other than by approval during January-March 1971.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Office of Research and Statistics

Historical statistics for five temporary disability insurance programs, 1942-1969, by Daniel N. Price, Division of Economic and Long-Range Studies. Note No. 17–1971, December 20, 1971, 8 pp. text and 19 tables. Presents data on the experience of four States and the railroad industry in administering temporary disability insurance programs.

Income loss protection against illness, 1970, by Daniel N. Price, Division of Economic and Long-Range Studies. Note No. 16–1971, December 17, 1971, 5 pp. Lists cash benefits paid for nonwork-connected disability during 1970.

National Health expenditures, fiscal year 1971, by Barbara S. Cooper and Nancy L. Worthington, Division of Health Insurance Studies. Note No. 13–1971, November 19, 1971, 5 pp. Summarizes data on national health expenditures for fiscal year 1971.

NON-GOVERNMENT

America's other youth: growing up poor, David Gottlieb and Anne Lienhard Heinsohn, eds. Prentice-Hall, Inc. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632), 1971, 206 pp., $7.95. Provides an understanding of the day-to-day experiences of poor Negro, Chicano, Indian, Puerto Rican, and white young people who must struggle to survive in both urban and rural communities.

British social policy, 1914-1939, by Bently R. Gilbert. Cornell University Press (124 Roberts Pl., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850), 1970, 343 pp., $9. Deals with the development of welfare policy in England between the two world wars.

Education for aging: a review of recent literature, by H. Lee Jacobs and others. Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. (1225 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036), 1970, 118 pp., 50¢ microfilm, $6 hardcopy. Reviews studies and reports on behavior patterns in aging; gives attention to developments in early life and attitudes that set the pattern for life characteristics.

Factors associated with placement decisions in child welfare, by Michael H. Phillips and others. Child Welfare League of America (44 E. 23d St., New York, N.Y. 10010), 1971, 114 pp., $1.50. Contains information about the improvement of social services for children receiving inadequate parental care.

Family and community functioning: a manual of measurement for social work practice and policy, by Ludwig L. Geismar. Scarecrow Press, Inc. (P. O. Box 656, Metuchen, N.J. 08840), 1971, 215 pp., $6. This manual "is written mainly as a how-to-do-it book for the research practitioner" and carries a modified version of the St. Paul Scale of Family Functioning.

Family planning: readings and case materials, Florence Haselkorn, ed., in consultation with Katherine Oettinger. Council on Social Work Education (345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017), 1971, 355 pp., $5. This volume deals with "developing knowledge in the field of family planning" as it concerns social work teachers and practitioners.

Family problems and what to do about them, by Wallace Denton. The Westminister Press (Juniper & Walnut Sts., Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107), 1971, 158 pp., $2.85. Gives practical suggestions for dealing creatively with the everyday tension of ordinary families.

Four hundred losers: delinquent boys in high school, by Winton M. Ahlstrom and Robert J. Havighurst. Jossey-Bass, Inc. (615 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111), 1971, 246 pp., $9.50. Reports on a study of socially maladjusted boys in Kansas City, Mo., who were observed, tested, and interviewed over a 6-year period, from the seventh grade through high school.

Health care in transition: directions for the future, by Anne R. Somers. Hospital Research and Education Trust (840 No. Lakeshore Dr., Chicago, Ill. 60611), 1971, 176 pp., $5.95. Discusses the basic elements in the organization and financing of health services.

Interviewing in social work practice: an introduction, by Margaret Schubert. Council on Social Work Education (345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017), 1971, 86 pp., $2. Covers pertinent aspects of interviewing and gives insight into methods used.

Juvenile delinquency: an introduction, by Stephen Schafer and Richard D. Knudten. Random House (30 W. 60th St., New York, N.Y. 10023), 1971, 394 pp., $8.95. Examines the delinquencies and offenses, adjudication and treatment of young persons.

Lifetime allocation of work and income: essays in the economics of aging, by Juanita M. Kreps. Duke University Press (Box 6697, College Station, Durham, N.C. 27708), 1971, 170 pp., $6.75. Presents essays on recent developments affecting the patterns of work and earnings throughout life.

Measuring the impact of manpower programs: a primer, by Michael E. Borus and William R. Tash. Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations (University of Michigan, Wayne State University, Publications Office, Box B-1, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106), 1970, 81 pp., $2.50. Presents ideas for measuring the effect of manpower programs to stimulate the development of an improved methodology for assessing results of such programs.

Mental retardation and its social dimensions, by Margaret Adams. Columbia University Press (440 W. 110th St., New York, N.Y. 10025), Discusses social issues in mental retardation and their effect on social work.

Mental retardation, readings and resources, by Jerome H. Rothstein. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. (383 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10019), 1971, 696 pp., $9.95. Provides readings and references for educators, psychologists, nurses, rehabilitation counselors, physicians, social scientists, and parent groups concerned with mental retardation.

Paul U. Kellogg and the survey: voices for social welfare and social justice, by Clarke A. Chambers. University of Minnesota Press (Minneapolis, Minn. 55455), 1971, 283 pp., $10. Provides knowledge into the story of social work, social welfare policy, and political and sòcial reform in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century.

Perspectives on social casework, by Helen Harris Perlman. Temple University Press (Philadelphia, Pa. 19122), 1971, 199 pp., $7.50. Presents views on social casework as it has been, is, and might be.

The poor: a culture of poverty, or a poverty of culture? J. Alan Winter, ed. William B. Eerdmans (255 Jefferson Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49502), 1971, 136 pp., $2.45. Presents essays and comments on the work of Oscar Lewis and the "culture of poverty."

Power and poverty: theory and practice, by Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz. (Oxford University Press (1600 Pollitt Dr., Fair Lawn, N.Y. 07410), 1970, 220 pp., $6. text, $2.50 paperback. Presents a new way to analyze power and the correlates of power: authority, influence, and force in the community.

Promoting social justice in the multigroup society: a casebook for group relations practitioner, Jack Rothman, ed., preface by Arnulf M. Pins. Council on Social Work Education (345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017), 1971, 253 pp., $6.50. Describes some of the problems facing State and local agencies such as minority group attitudes and individual experiences in specific communities and points to the need for social work students to be aware of group relations.

Rehabilitation in the inner city, by Lawrence B. Feinberg and R. William English. Syracuse University Press (Box 8, University Station, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210), 1969, 119 pp., $3. Discusses papers presented at the Conference on Rehabilitation in the Inner City, held in Syracuse, N.Y., on May 27-28, 1969.

The relevance of sociology, by Jack D. Douglas. Appleton-Century-Crofts (440 Park Ave., So., New York, N.Y. 10016), 1970, 233 pp., $2.65. Deals with issues concerning personal involvement and the importance of sociology in understanding and solving America's social problems.

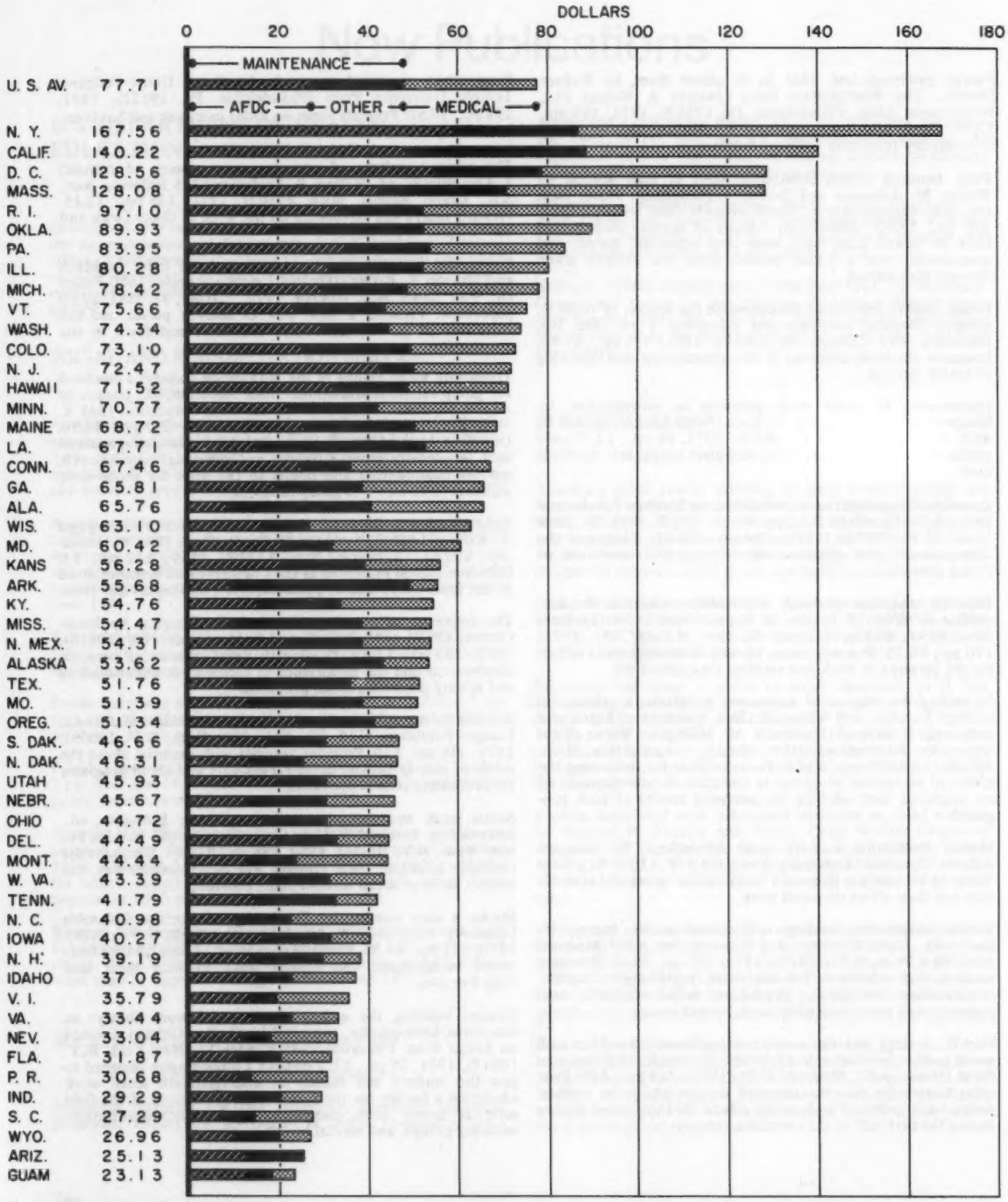
Services to the aging in New York City, by Geneva Mathiasen. Praeger Publishers (111 4th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003), 1971, 148 pp., $10. Provides agencies with material about the needs of elderly persons in New York City and about programs for preventing critical problems.

Social work and mental retardation, Meyer Schreiber, ed., foreword by Leonard W. Mayo. John Day Co. (62 W. 45th St., New York, N.Y. 10036), 1970, 758 pp., $12.95. Concerns the mentally retarded, their families and their communities, the various kinds of social services being provided.

Stroke a slain warrior, by Frank Michael Cortina. Columbia University Press (440 W. 110th St., New York, N.Y. 10025), 1970, 231 pp., $6.95. Presents a study of 17 drug addicts from varied backgrounds and assures ways to help them lead drug-free lives.

Toward building the undergraduate social work library: an annotated bibliography, compiled by Shelton Gelman. Council on Social Work Education (345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017), 1971, 39 pp., $3. Contains a bibliography designed to give the student and faculty in undergraduate social work education a feeling for the many different aspects of the field such as group work, casework, community organization, minority groups, and mental health.

AMOUNT EXPENDED PER INHABITANT 1/ FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS, FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1971



1/ BASED ON RESIDENT POPULATION AS OF JULY 1, 1971, EXCLUDING ARMED FORCES OVERSEAS, ESTIMATED BY THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS.

HEW-SRS-PS & DS-NCSS No. 3

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Amount expended per inhabitant 1/ for public assistance payments, fiscal year ended June 30, 1971

State	Total	Money payments							Payments to intermediate care facilities	Payments to medical vendors
		Total	Old-age assistance	Aid to the blind	Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	Aid to families with dependent children	General assistance	Emergency assistance 2/		
Total	$77.71	$45.33	$9.08	$0.48	$5.24	$27.05	$3.40	3/ $0.07	$2.66	$29.71
Alabama	65.76	39.77	27.69	.46	3.29	8.33	(4/)	---	.82	25.17
Alaska	53.62	43.24	8.52	.61	5.82	26.10	1.39	.81	---	10.37
Arizona	25.13	25.06	6.42	.28	4.41	12.91	1.03	---	---	.08
Arkansas	55.68	38.26	22.84	.85	5.20	9.33	.02	.03	11.01	6.40
California	140.22	88.59	21.12	1.31	14.86	48.25	3.04	---	---	51.63
Colorado	73.10	45.18	13.23	.11	4.77	25.03	3/ 2.04	---	4.43	23.50
Connecticut	67.46	36.49	3.10	.10	3.81	25.16	4.32	---	---	30.97
Delaware	44.49	33.16	3.87	.86	4.15	19.79	4.49	---	---	11.33
District of Columbia	128.56	77.38	5.24	.36	12.91	55.10	3.77	---	1.58	49.61
Florida	31.87	19.84	5.62	.30	2.70	10.61	3/ .42	---	.36	11.66
Georgia	65.81	38.25	12.50	.56	5.87	19.14	.19	---	.29	27.27
Guam	23.13	18.22	3.40	.08	.67	13.02	1.04	---	---	4.91
Hawaii	71.52	48.57	3.50	.14	3.87	32.85	8.21	---	---	22.96
Idaho	37.06	22.84	3.53	.14	3.80	15.37	---	---	---	14.22
Illinois	80.28	45.08	2.43	.17	4.72	31.14	6.62	---	7.45	27.74
Indiana	29.29	13.02	2.02	.22	.79	9.99	---	---	7.26	9.01
Iowa	40.27	31.70	12.01	.60	1.92	16.53	3/ .64	---	---	8.57
Kansas	56.28	30.67	4.07	.18	2.49	20.72	3.17	.04	8.79	16.82
Kentucky	54.76	34.02	12.89	.58	4.75	15.80	---	---	---	20.74
Louisiana	67.71	50.89	29.39	.59	4.02	15.46	1.43	---	2.13	14.69
Maine	68.72	40.46	7.83	.25	4.62	25.78	1.99	---	10.30	17.96
Maryland	60.42	30.27	1.65	.10	4.37	20.97	2.46	.73	2.07	28.07
Massachusetts	128.08	66.78	11.10	.89	4.95	42.56	6.60	.68	4.47	56.82
Michigan	78.42	46.15	4.08	.20	4.25	29.99	7.23	.40	2.51	29.76
Minnesota	70.77	32.90	4.53	.26	3.44	22.32	2.34	---	9.20	28.67
Mississippi	54.47	38.60	21.05	.71	7.64	9.07	.13	---	---	15.87
Missouri	51.39	38.75	18.15	.91	3.91	13.71	2.06	---	---	12.64
Montana	44.44	21.46	3.71	.27	3.51	13.11	.86	---	2.35	20.63
Nebraska	45.67	19.65	3.62	.24	2.87	12.76	---	.16	11.27	14.75
Nevada	33.04	17.45	5.34	.38	---	11.74	---	---	.67	14.92
New Hampshire	39.19	29.64	11.75	.61	2.02	13.71	1.55	---	---	9.54
New Jersey	72.47	50.16	2.34	.16	2.48	42.67	2.51	---	---	22.30
New Mexico	54.31	35.71	5.99	.34	7.72	21.66	---	---	2.94	15.66
New York	167.56	84.46	6.91	.30	8.37	59.01	9.84	3/ .02	2.48	80.63
North Carolina	40.98	22.52	5.51	.90	5.20	10.79	.12	---	---	18.46
North Dakota	46.31	25.27	6.53	.17	4.33	14.03	.22	---	---	21.04
Ohio	44.72	28.05	3.71	.23	2.80	16.89	4.42	---	2.91	13.76
Oklahoma	89.93	52.61	22.78	.63	10.18	18.72	.11	.19	---	37.32
Oregon	51.34	31.77	2.57	.35	3.37	24.45	.86	.16	9.41	10.17
Pennsylvania	83.95	34.16	5.14	.95	3.83	35.17	9.07	---	---	29.79
Puerto Rico	30.68	13.94	1.72	.04	1.01	11.16	---	---	---	16.74
Rhode Island	97.10	49.00	2.79	.13	4.77	34.16	6.43	.72	3.54	44.57
South Carolina	27.29	14.09	4.11	.58	2.81	6.51	.07	---	.52	12.67
South Dakota	46.66	25.00	4.88	.20	1.94	17.78	.19	---	6.56	15.11
Tennessee	41.79	29.01	8.04	.37	5.43	15.03	.15	---	3.83	8.95
Texas	51.76	27.73	15.26	.33	1.70	10.15	3/ .29	---	8.46	15.57
Utah	45.93	26.85	2.03	.17	4.18	19.69	.73	.05	3.71	15.37
Vermont	75.66	39.17	8.76	.28	5.78	23.71	---	.63	4.76	31.73
Virgin Islands	35.79	19.50	2.78	.08	.54	13.79	2.06	.25	---	16.29
Virginia	33.44	19.92	2.30	.25	1.82	14.24	1.31	---	2.66	10.88
Washington	74.34	43.24	5.05	.16	6.30	29.67	1.96	.10	1.30	29.80
West Virginia	43.39	31.51	6.30	.27	5.33	19.35	.17	.08	---	11.88
Wisconsin	63.10	26.82	5.33	.17	1.90	16.74	2.68	---	---	36.27
Wyoming	26.96	15.92	3.24	.08	2.14	9.68	.43	.34	4.08	6.96

1/ Based on resident population as of July 1, 1971, excluding armed forces overseas, estimated by the Bureau of the Census.
2/ Data include both money payments and medical vendor payments.
3/ Does not include New York City.
4/ Less than $0.005.
3/ Estimated.

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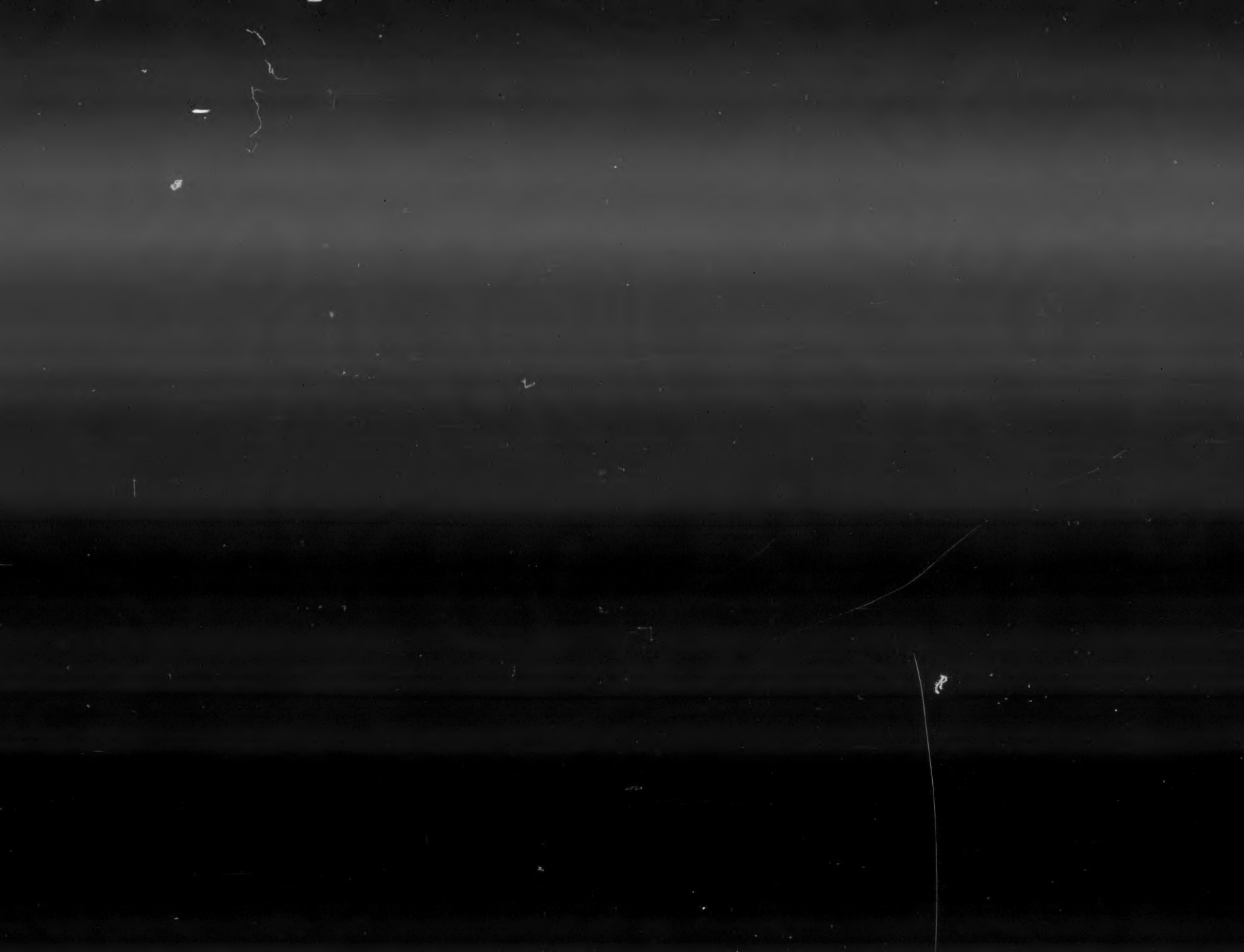
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